

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 110832

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SUBJECT: TEXT OF MESSAGE FROM PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO TO
PRESIDENT

S/S FOR SECRETARY

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF MESSAGE RECEIVED MAY 24 FROM
PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO TO PRESIDENT REGARDING INDIAN
NUCLEAR TEST:

QUOTE: THE EXPLOSION OF A NUCLEAR DEVICE BY INDIA IS BOUND
TO HAVE SINISTER GLOBAL REPERCUSSIONS AND HAS QUALITA-
TIVELY CHANGED THE SITUATION IN OUR REGION FOR THE WORSE.

INDIA'S PROTESTATION THAT HER NUCLEAR DEVICE IS FOR PEACE-
FUL PURPOSES WILL, OF COURSE, MISLEAD NO ONE. IT IS A
BASIC ASSUMPTION OF THE TREATY ON NON-PROLIFERATION OF
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PAGE 02 STATE 110832

NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AND A FACT EMPHASIZED BY YOUR GOVERNMENT

AND ACKNOWLEDGED BY ALL, THAT THERE IS NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE EXPLOSION OF A SO-CALLED PEACEFUL NUCLEAR DEVICE AND THE DETONATION OF A NUCLEAR WEAPON.

GLOBALLY, THE INDIAN NUCLEAR TEST IS A MORTAL BLOW TO THE EFFORTS OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY, LED BY YOUR GOVERNMENT, TO PREVENT THE FURTHER SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. IT IS BOUND TO EMBOLDEN NOT ONLY THE PRESENTLY THRESHOLD POWERS

BUT ALL OTHERS TO DEVELOP THESE WEAPONS. THE RESTRAINTS SOUGHT TO BE IMPOSED ON SUCH STATES BY THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY HAVE BEEN SHATTERED.

IN OUR REGION, IT EXPOSES INDIA'S NEIGHBOURS, PARTICULARLY PAKISTAN, TO A KIND OF NUCLEAR THREAT OR BLACKMAIL UNPARALLELED ELSEWHERE. NO TWO AMONG THE FIVE NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES THAT ARE THE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, NOR ANYONE OF THESE STATES AND A NON-NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES, HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN THE KIND OF MUTUAL CONFRONTATION AND UNRESOLVED DISPUTES WHICH CHARACTERIZE RELATION BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND INDIA. INDIA'S PROCLIVITY TO RESORT TO THE USE OF FORCE FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS IS AN ESTABLISHED FACT. WE IN PAKISTAN HAVE BEEN VICTIMS OF INDIA'S AGGRESSIVE POLICY THREE TIMES DURING THE LAST TWENTY FIVE YEARS. THE ELEMENTS OF GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITY, MUTUAL DETERRENCE, BALANCE AND RESTRAINT WHICH HAVE NOT ONLY PREVENTED A NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST BUT ALSO MODERATED THE EXERCISE OF THE NUCLEAR THREAT BY A GREAT POWER ARE TOTALLY LACKING IN THE SITUATION IN OUR REGION. PAKISTAN HAS, THEREFORE, GROUNDS FOR A UNIQUE KIND OF ANXIETY OVER INDIA'S NUCLEAR DEMONSTRATION.

IT IS ALSO SINGULARLY IRONIC THAT THIS DEMONSTRATION SHOULD HAVE BEEN STAGED AT A TIME WHEN OUR EFFORTS FOR THE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS AMONG THE STATES OF THE SUB-CONTINENT HAD REACHED AN ADVANCED STAGE AND WE WERE BEGINNING TO LOOK FORWARD TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF TRANQUILLITY AND EQUILIBRIUM IN OUR REGION.

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PAGE 03 STATE 110832

ON MANY OCCASIONS IN THE PAST, WE STATED THAT INDIA HAD EMBARKED UPON A NUCLEAR WEAPONS PRODUCTION PROGRAMME. REGRETTABLY, THESE WARNINGS WENT UNHEEDED. WHAT IS MORE LAMENTABLE IS THAT CERTAIN COUNTRIES CONTINUED TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE TO INDIA'S NUCLEAR EFFORT AND HARDLY TOOK CARE TO ENSURE THE OBSERVANCE OF THE NECESSARY SAFEGUARD AGAINST THE DIVERSION OF FISSIONABLE MATERIAL TO THE PRODUCTION OF AN EXPLOSIVE DEVICE.

IT IS EVIDENT THAT INDIA'S EMERGENCE AS THE SIXTH NUCLEAR WEAPON POWER WITH ITS CHAIN REACTION, IS BOUND TO AGGRAVATE INSECURITY IN A SEGMENT OF THE WORLD WIDER THAN OUR REGION. UNLESS EFFECTIVE STEPS ARE URGENTLY TAKEN TO ARREST AND, INDEED, TO REVERSE THIS DEVELOPMENT, THE STATES FACING A POTENTIAL THREAT OF NUCLEAR BLACKMAIL MIGHT FEEL NO CONSTRAINT IN EMBARKING UPON PROGRAMMES OF THEIR OWN, RESULTING IN THE DIVERSION OF RESOURCES FROM

THE PRESSING NEEDS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. A NUCLEAR ARMS RACE WOULD BE RUINOUS FOR THE HOPES AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE PEOPLES OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES FOR A BETTER FUTURE.

PAKISTAN WILL DO ITS UTMOST TO RESIST PRESSURES TOWARD A NUCLEAR OPTION. BUT THESE PRESSURES WILL INCREASE IF THERE IS NO CREDIBLE POLITICAL INSURANCE AGAINST NUCLEAR BLACKMAIL. THE EXISTING ASSURANCES EXTENDED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO NON-NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES ARE UNCERTAIN AND AMBIGUOUS AND CANNOT OPERATIVELY PREVENT THE POSSIBILITY OF A NUCLEAR THREAT OR BLACKMAIL. THE SAME IS TRUE OF THE US-SOVIET STATEMENT TO ACT JOINTLY TO PREVENT NUCLEAR WAR.

IN OUR CONSIDERED VIEW, THE IRREDUCIBLE MINIMUM OF PROTECTION REQUIRED BY STATES EXPOSED TO NUCLEAR THREAT OR BLACKMAIL IS AN UNDERTAKING IN THE NATURE OF AN OBLIGATION BY ALL THE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO ACT COLLECTIVELY OR INDIVIDUALLY IN DEFENCE OF SUCH STATES AGAINST THAT THREAT.

IT IS MY SINCERE HOPE THAT THE QUESTION WILL RECEIVE THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 04 STATE 110832

MOST CAREFUL AND URGENT CONSIDERATION OF YOUR EXCELLENCY'S GOVERNMENT. UNLESS YOUR COUNTRY AND OTHER PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL ACT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES WHICH DEVOLVE UPON THEM, THE WORLD MAY WELL WITNESS THE FINAL DESCENT UNTO NUCLEAR ANARCHY.

I AM ADDRESSING SIMILAR MESSAGES TO THE LEADERS OF THE OTHER PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS. THE WORLD ORGANISATION HAS, AS I HAVE STATED, A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY IN THIS MATTER. HOWEVER, IT NEEDS THE IMPETUS WHICH CAN BE FURNISHED ONLY BY THE COOPERATION AND CONTRIBUTION OF YOUR EXCELLENCY'S GOVERNMENT. I AM CONFIDENT THAT THIS WILL NOT BE WITHHELD. END QUOTE. BROWN

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